

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 HA-05 TRSE-00 /081 W
-----044930 021157Z /14

O 021030Z AUG 78

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1954

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 4431/1

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PDEV, WA, SF

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: VORSTER SPEAKS ON NAMIBIA

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF AN SABC-TV CLIFF SAUNDERS INTERVIEW
WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER WHICH WAS BROADCAST AUGUST 1 AND
PUBLISHED IN THE CITIZEN AUGUST 2: QUOTE:

A- AT ONE STATE THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MR. PIK BOTHA,
WAS SAYING THAT THE TWO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS- THE ONE ON THE
WESTERN PLAN AND THE OTHER ON WALVIS BAY- COULD NOT BE SEEN
SEPARATELY, AND THERE WERE STRONG INDICATIONS THAT WE WOULD
WITHDRAW FROM THE PLAN. WHAT IS THE MAIN REASON WHY WE HAVE NOW
DECIDED TO RECEIVE THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF DR. WALHEIM?

A- THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WAS QUITE RIGHT.

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THEY BROUGHT THE TWO RESOLUTIONS AND IF WE MEEKLY AND MILDLY ACCEPTED
THE TWO, THEN WE WOULD HAVE HAD IT. WE IMMEDIATELY TOOK EXCEPTION
TO THE ONE ABOUT WALVIS BAY AND WE SEPARATED THE TWO... AND WE MADE
OUR STAND QUITE CLEAR AS TO THE WALVIS ONE- THAT WE DO NOT
RECOGNIZE IT, THAT IT HAS NO FORCE IN LAW AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED
AND THAT WE WILL NOT BE TOLD TO NEGOTIATE WITH ANYBODY IN TERMS OF
THE RESOLUTION BECAUSE WALVIS BAY IS OUR PROPERTY... AND WE CANNOT

BE TOLD HOW WE MUST DEAL WITH OUR PROPERTY WHATSOEVER.

Q- SO WE NOW STILL REGARD THESE TWO RESOLUTIONS AS SEPARATE?

A- AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED, THESE ARE TWO SEPARATE RESOLUTIONS, BUT AS WE SAY IN AFRIKAANS, " HULLE WOU ONE MET 'N SLAP RIEM VANG" (THEY REALLY TOOK US IN) TO BRING THE TWO RESOLUTIONS, AND IF WE DID NOT DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT, THEN, AS I SAID, WE WOULD HAVE HAD IT.

Q- SO YOU STILL REGARD THIS SECOND RESOLUTION AS THE BIG DOUBLECROSS?

A- YES. THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT IT.

Q- WOULD IT BE CORRECT TO ASSUME THAT THE NEXT MAJOR HURDLE FACING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS THE REPORT WHICH THE REPRESENTATIVE OF DR. KURT WALDHEIM, MR. AHTISAARI, IS TO SUBMIT ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WESTERPLAN?

A- YES, IN TERMS OF THE RESOLUTION, THE SECRETARY- GENERAL MUST APPOINT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, AND AS IT IS STATED IN THE RESOLUTION " IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE EARLY INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA IN FREE ELECTIONS UNDER THE SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF THE UNITED NATIONS" - I'LL COME BACK TO THAT POINT IN A MOMENT - AND THEN IT GOES ON TO SAY, " FURTHER REQUESTS, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO SUBMIT AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE A REPORT CONTAINING HIS UNCLASSIFIED

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RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385."

WE ENTERED INTO AN AGREEMENT WITH THE FIVE NATIONS. NOW ACCORDING TO THIS RESOLUTION, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPRESENTATIVE MUST COME OUT TO SOUTH WEST AFRICA, HE MUST THEN SUBMIT A REPORT TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN DETAIL AS TO HOW HE IS TO IMPLEMENT THAT RESOLUTION, AND BECAUSE WE WERE BITTEN ONCE WE ARE NOW SHY AND WE WANT TO MAKE ABSOLUTELY SURE THAT HIS REPORT IS IN LETTER AND SPIRIT ACCORDING TO THE AGREEMENT THAT WE ENTERED INTO WITH THE FIVE.

Q- ACCORDING TO SPEECHES I LISTENED TO IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IT DOES SEEM AS IF THERE IS GOING TO BE A BIG DEMAND THAT THE MAJOR POWERS BE GIVEN TO MR. AHTISSAARI AND THE LESSER POWER BE GIVEN TO MR. JUSTICE STEYN. WHO IS IN CHARGE OF THIS ELECTION? IS IT THE UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTATIVE OR IS IT THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL?

A- I THINK IT IS ONLY FAIR TO SAY THAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT, IT IS THE ADMINISTRATOR, MR, JUSTICE STEYN, WHO WILL BE IN

CHARGE OF THE MODALITIES OF THE ELECTION. IT IS SAID AS FAR AS THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IS CONCERNED IN CARRYING OUT HIS

RESPONSIBILITIES, THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL WORK TOGETHER WITH
THE OFFICIAL APPOINTED BY SOUTH AFRICA- THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL-
AND THEN FURTHER WHEN YOU NOW READ THAT THE "ELECTIONS WILL TAKE
PLACE

UNDER THE SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF THE UNITED NATIONS". THAT,
UNFORTUNATELY, IS NOT THE FULL STORY, BECAUSE THE AGREEMENT MAKES
PROVISION FOR THIS, NAMELY, THAT THE ELECTIONS WILL BE UNDER THE
SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THAT- AND IT IS A
VERY

IMPORTANT "IN THAT"- AS A CONDITION TO THE CONDUCT OF THE
ELECTORAL PROCESS THE ELECTIONS THEMSELVES AND THE CERTIFICATION OF
THEIR RESULTS THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL HAVE TO
SATISFY HIMSELF AT EACH STAGE AS TO THE FAIRNESS AND THE
APPROPRIATENESS OF ALL MEASURES AFFECTING THE POLITICAL PROCESS
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AT ALL LEVELS. YOU SEE, THEREFORE, THAT IT IS QUITE CLEAR- THAT
THE (EMBASSY COMMENT: PRESUMABLY VORSTER MEANT TO SAY ADMINISTRATOR-
GENERAL) SECRETARY- GENERAL IS IN CHARGE OF THE ELECTION, BUT THE
FUNCTION OF THE REPRESENTATIVE IS TO MAKE SURE TO SATISFY HIMSELF AS
TO THE FAIRNESS AND APPROPRIATENESS OF THE VARIOUS STEPS TAKEN
BY THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT HE
CAN ALSO MAKE PROPOSALS.

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BUT THE FACT IS THAT THESE TWO GENTLEMEN MUST WORK IN CLOSE COOPERATION AND IT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD VERY CLEARLY THAT THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IS NOT A DICTATOR IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA AND HE DOESN'T COME TO SOUTH WEST AFRICA AS A DICTATOR. HE COMES THERE TO WORK IN CLOSE CONJUNCTION WITH THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL, WHO IS NOT ONLY IN CHARGE OF THE ELECTION BUT WHO IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING AND THE AGREEMENT IS ALSO RUNNING THE TERRITORY UNTIL SUCH TIME AS IT BECOMES INDEPENDENT.

Q- THIS REPORT WHICH MR. AHTISAARI IS DRAWING UP ON IMPLEMENTATION, WHAT HAPPENS IF WE DON'T AGREE WITH IT?

A- THEN YOU CANNOT PROCEED WITH THE PLAN BECAUSE IT IS NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT WHICH WE ACCEPTED ON APRIL 25. THEN WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO IMPLEMENT IT. WE WILL ONLY IMPLEMENT IT IF IT UNCLASSIFIED

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IS,
AS I'VE ALREADY SAID, IN LETTER AND IN SPIRIT THAT WHICH WE AGREED UPON ON APRIL 25, 1978

Q- TURNING TO SOMETHING RELATED. MR. SAM NUJOMA OF SWAPO CONTINUES TO REFUSE TO COOPERATE. HOW DO YOU SEE THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE WEST IF SWAPO CONTINUES TO REFUSE TO COOPERATE?

A- THIS AGREEMENT THAT WE ENTERED INTO MAKES PROVISION INTER ALIA FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF A CERTAIN NUMBER OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS UNTIL THERE ARE ONLY 1,500 LEFT. AND IT MAKES PROVISION FOR THE FACT THAT THERE MUST BE PEACE IN THE TERRITORY, AND THAT THERE MUST BE NO MURDER OR VIOLENCE COMMITTED BY SWAPO. AND IF SWAPO CONTINUES ITS VIOLENCE THEN NATURALLY THE AGREEMENT CANNOT BE IMPLEMENTED. AND IT IS NOT SOUTH AFRICA WHO ENTERED INTO AN AGREEMENT WITH SWAPO. IT WAS THE FIVE

WESTERN POWERS WHO BROUGHT SWAPO IN, WHO ENTERED INTO AN AGREEMENT WITH SWAPO, AND THEREFORE THE ONUS RESTS ON THEM TO SEE THAT SWAPO HONORS THE AGREEMENT FROM ITS SIDE.

Q- THE CRUCIAL POINTS OF THE WESTERN PLAN ARE NOT DOWN IN WRITING BUT ARE BASED ON SO-CALLED GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENTS, AND IS THIS NOT A WEAKNESS OF THE PLAN?

A- IN ONE WAY ONE CAN SAY THIS IS A WEAKNESS OF THE PLAN. BUT IN

ANOTHER SENSE, IF THERE ARE NO PROPER UNDERSTANDINGS AS BETWEEN THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL THEN YOU COULD HAVE ALL THE PAPER IN THE WORLD AND IT WOULD NOT HELP. IT WILL DEPEND ON THESE TWO GENTLEMEN HOW THEY ARE GOING TO WORK TOGETHER TO IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENT. AND IT STANDS TO REASON THAT YOU CANNOT MAKE PROVISIONS FOR EVERY LITTLE DETAIL IN THE AGREEMENT THAT WE NEGOTIATED. BUT THE BROAD ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT, SUCH AS

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THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE NOW IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA WILL BE IN CHARGE OF LAW AND ORDER, THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WILL BE THERE UNTIL THE ELECTION AND IF REQUESTED TO STAY ON, THEN THEY WILL STAY ON AFTER THE ELECTION, AND IN CONNECTION WITH ALL THESE MATTERS- ALSO

THE COMPOSITION AND THE STRENGTH OF THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVERS AND MILITARY PERSONNEL- ALL THESE MATTERS MUST BE CLARIFIED IN TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT AS BETWEEN THESE TWO GENTLEMEN.

Q- A FINALS BREAKTHROUGH HAS OBVIOUSLY NOT YET BEEN REACHED. WHEN DO YOU FEEL A BREAKTHROUGH WILL HAVE BEEN REACHED IN THE PROCESS?

A- WELL, IN SO FAR AS ONE CAN SPEAK OF A BREAKTHROUGH, I THINK ONE CAN SAY THAT WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS IF THE SECRETARY- GENERAL'S REPRESENTATIVE HAS COMPLIED HIS REPORT TO DR. WALDHEIM AND THAT REPORT

CONVEYS IN LETTER AND SPIRIT THE UNDERSTANDING AND THE AGREEMENT WE ENTERED INTO ON APRIL 25 AND IF SWAPO ACCEPTS, LIKE WE DID, THAT AGREEMENT, AND IS PREPARED TO ABIDE BY THAT AGREEMENT AND TO SEE IT THROUGH TO THE END.

Q- IF THINGS GO WRONG, IF ALL THIS DOES LEAD TO A CONFRONTATION, ARE WE PREPARED TO COPE WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF A CONFRONTATION? FOR INSTANCE, MR. DON MCHENRY, I HEAR, HAD ALREADY SAID THAT SOUTH AFRICA DOES NOT HAVE THE WILL TO FIGHT.

A- I DON'T KNOW IF MR. MCHENRY SAID THAT. MR. MCHENRY WILL HAVE ANOTHER GUESS COMING IF HE DID SAY SO, BECAUSE WE ARE IN HONOR BOUND TO MAKE SOUTH WEST AFRICA INDEPENDENT. AND SO THE FIVE-WESTERN POWERS

ARE HONOR BOUND TO MAKE SOUTH WEST AFRICA INDEPENDENT BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR. AND IF OTHER PARTIES DON'T WANT TO CARRY OUT THEIR SHARE OF RESPONSIBILITY, IF THEY DON'T ABIDE BY THE AGREEMENT, THEN WE WILL HAVE NO OPTION- WHATEVER THE CONSEQUENCES- TO MAKE SOUTH WEST AFRICA INDEPENDENT. AND WE CANNOT BE SCARED OFF BY THREATS

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BY SWAPO OR ANYBODY ELSE FOR THAT MATTER.END QUOTE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS CONFERENCES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 jan 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978PRETOR04431
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780316-0124
Format: TEL
From: PRETORIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197808107/aaaadlqg.tel
Line Count: 281
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 38028b58-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 mar 2005
Review Event:
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Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1560551
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: VORSTER SPEAKS ON NAMIBIA
TAGS: PDEV, SOPN, WA, SF, (VORSTER, BALTHAZAR JOHANNES)
To: STATE USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/38028b58-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014